25: Vigna--41
116, 527, 783

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

In their fiestas, --they have solemn fiestas, periods of domestic events and of initiation - before the rites and dances begin, the chief, if he has some crime to expiate, must purify himself, taking infusions of tobacco and other herbs.

25. Vigna--47[5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 527

The Jíbaro has many occasions for fiesta in the family: a good hunting or fishing, the birth of an infant, marriage, etc. are all motives for having feasts. The principal ceremonial fiestas for the Jíbaro are: the Tobacco, the Yuca, and the macabre fiesta of the Tzantza, the greatest celebration of all. When they do not have a tzantza of a man, they will make a fiesta with that of a special monkey, which causes much preoccupation.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

527 Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *tsantsa*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

574 Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respectable beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand. Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

527 534 535 527 After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,

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14:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these *hanowaai* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Crowd me to bed.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

While such *hanowaai* songs have a courtship function between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, including married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require frequent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

34:Harner E-6.5 (1956-1969):1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untsi*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.